

LB
2581
1902
M23e

A
A
0
0
1
4
5
3
7
5
7
5



MAONAMARA — THE EDUCATION BILL





THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY
540 EAST 57TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

WORLD OF

WISDOM

WISDOM



BURNING QUESTIONS

THE
EDUCATION
BILL

BY
Dr. MACNAMARA, M.P.

Member of London School Board.



LONDON
SWAN SONNENSCHN & CO.



PRICE THREEPENCE

BURNING QUESTIONS.

EDITED BY

COLONEL DALBIAC, late M.P. for North Camberwell.

No. 1. THE EDUCATION BILL.

By DR. MACNAMARA, M.P.

No. 2. IRISH LAND QUESTION UP-TO-DATE.

By T. W. RUSSELL, M.P.

No. 3. THE AMERICAN INVASION.

By B. H. THWAITE, C.E., F.C.S.

*** Others to follow rapidly.

NEWEST EDUCATIONAL BOOKS

SONNENSCHNEIN'S READING IN A TWELVEMONTH.

With coloured and other illustrations.

PART I.—Short Vowels, strongly bound in cloth, 10d.

PART II.—Short Vowels with combined Consonants; Double Vowels; Suffixes. 10d.

PARTS III. IV. in One Vol.—Long Vowels. Reading-lessons, &c., 1s.

THE PROBLEM OF TEACHING TO READ.—A Teachers' Companion to "Reading in a Twelvemonth." 1s. READING SHEETS.—5s. net.

"We have no hesitation in asserting that if the London School Board were to insist on the general adoption of the Sonnenschein method of teaching reading, they would introduce one of the most important educational reforms about since the Act of 1870."—*St. James's Gazette*. "The Education Office might well give this system a fair trial, and if it prove satisfactory, introduce it into our elementary schools. It seems to promise results of the highest possible value."—*Daily News*.

PARALLEL GRAMMAR SERIES.

Edited by Prof. E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN, Litt.D. (Oxon.), M.A. (Oxon.).

UNIFORMITY OF TERMINOLOGY and UNIFORMITY OF CLASSIFICATION are the distinguishing marks of this Series; all the Grammars are constructed on the same plan, and the same terminology is used to describe identical grammatical features in different languages.

A PARALLEL OF GREEK AND LATIN SYNTAX. By C. H. ST. L. RUSSELL, M.A., Assistant Master at Clifton College. 3s. 6d. [*Just Published*]

LATIN GRAMMAR. Prof. SONNENSCHNEIN. 3s. (Accidence, 1s. 6d.; Syntax, 1s. 6d.)
First Latin Reader and Writer (with Supplement). 2s.—Second Latin Reader and Writer. 1s. 6d.—Third Latin Reader and Writer. 2s. (All by C. M. DIX, M.A. Oxon.)—Fourth Latin Reader and Writer. By J. C. NICOL, M.A., Cantab., and Rev. J. HUNTER SMITH, M.A., Oxon.

GREEK GRAMMAR. By Prof. SONNENSCHNEIN. 4s. 6d. (Accidence, with Supplement, 2s.; Supplement, 6d.; Syntax, 2s. 6d.)

First Greek Reader and Writer. By J. E. SANDYS, Litt.D., Public Orator in University of Cambridge. 2s. 6d.

FRENCH GRAMMAR. By L. M. MORIARTY, M.A. Oxon, 3s. (Separately; Accidence, 1s. 6d.; Syntax, 1s. 6d.)

Preparatory French Course. By A. M. ZWEIFEL. 1s. 6d.—First French Reader and Writer. By R. J. MORICH, M.A., and W. S. LYON, M.A. 2s.—Second French Reader and Writer. By Prof. BARBIER. 2s.—Third French Reader and Writer. By L. BARBE, B.A. 2s.

GERMAN GRAMMAR. By Prof. KUNO MEYER, Ph.D. 3s. (Accidence, 1s. 6d.; Syntax, 1s. 6d.)

First German Reader and Writer. By Prof. SONNENSCHNEIN. 1s. 6d.—Second German Reader and Writer. By W. S. MACGOWAN, M.A., LL.D. 2s.—Third German Reader and Writer. By Prof. FIEDLER. 2s.—Fourth German Writer. By R. GORDON ROUTH, M.A. Oxon. 2s.

ENGLISH GRAMMAR. By J. HALL, M.A., A. J. COOPER, F.C.P., and Prof. SONNENSCHNEIN. 2s. (Separately; Accidence, 1s.; Analysis and Syntax, 1s.)

English Examples and Exercises. Part I., by M. A. WOODS. 1s. Part II., by A. J. COOPER. 1s.—Steps to English Parsing and Analysis. By E. M. RAMSAY and C. L. RAMSAY. Vol. I. Elementary, 1s. 6d. Vol. II. Further Exercises. 1s. 6d.

KEYS to the Latin and German Readers and Writers may be had by Teachers direct.

SWAN SONNENSCHNEIN & CO., LTD., LONDON.

THE EDUCATION BILL

AND ITS PROBABLE EFFECTS ON THE
SCHOOLS, THE SCHOLARS, AND THE
SCHOOL-TEACHERS.

BY

DR. MACNAMARA, M.P.

MEMBER OF THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD, ETC.

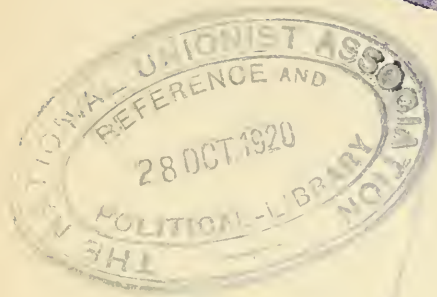
“Next to the maintenance of a great and powerful Navy, the future of England may depend upon its schools, and upon what is taught in those schools. The education, the right education, of our people may, and I believe will, become one of the most important lines of our national defence.”—[THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, DARLINGTON, 8TH OCTOBER, 1897.]



London

SWAN SONNENSCHN & CO., LIM.

1902



L10
2581
1902
M23e

THE EDUCATION BILL.

I. THE UNCONCERN OF THE PARENTS.

"There is no doubt that, unless we intend the English people to become the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for the world, we must make them as well prepared for the work they have to do as are foreign workmen."—[SIR JOHN GORST AT LONGTON, 19TH NOVEMBER, 1897.]

ONE of the most distressing features of English educationalism is the apathy and unconcern of the very persons most concerned—the parents of the children who use the schools. In Germany the meanest day labourer is keenly alive not only to the broad features of his common school system, but also to the details of the work going on inside the school walls themselves. He knows intimately the precise nature of the daily instruction his children are receiving; and by his personal and active interest stimulates all associated with the school to a vigilance and industry that must beneficially affect the nature of the work achieved. So it is in Switzerland, in Denmark, in Norway, in Sweden, in the United States, and indeed in most of the civilised countries save our own. National education flourishes in an atmosphere of natural sympathy and concern. With us it still languishes in the shade of public disregard; with the result that directly any Parliamentary proposal is made to deal with it, the parsons, and the pastors, and the professional politicians take the field. The question at once becomes a question of Church *versus* Chapel; the school is rigidly squeezed out and the pathetic figure of the child—tomorrow's citizen and the heritor of England's greatness—disappears in the cloud of controversy so vigorously raised by sectarian and partisan belligerents.

If the parents of the children only realised their responsibilities they would ruthlessly sweep these turbulent theologians, these

406107

HARVARD LIBRARY SETS
DEC 16 1940

ms
12-8 10

tadpoles and tapers aside and settle the problem on such wise and liberal lines as would secure to every child, no matter how humble his extraction, the opportunities of a moral, intellectual and physical equipment limited only by the limit which it has pleased God Almighty to put to his capacities. It is in the hope—not a very robust one certainly—that a plain statement of the existing facts and an impartial endeavour to state how they would be modified if the Education Bill now before Parliament became law may make for a rational treatment of the problem that these lines are written.

II. HOW EDUCATION IS LOCALLY CONTROLLED.

“Civilised communities throughout the world are massing themselves together, each mass being measured by its force; and if we are to hold our position among men of our own race or among the nations of the world, we must make up the smallness of our numbers by increasing the intellectual force of the individual.”—[MR. FORSTER, 17TH APRIL, 1870, ON INTRODUCING BILL OF 1870.]

ONE of the two main objects of the present Bill is to cover the country with Local Education Authorities. When the present Government came into office in 1895 both the question of the Central State Executive for Education and the question of the Local Control were in a very faulty state. With a zeal born of youthful vigour the Government tried in 1896 to tackle both these problems in one Bill. The attempt proved abortive; the Government had, as the Americans say, bitten off more than they could chew. They straightway resolved to deal with the two questions separately and in 1899 passed a good Bill, the Board of Education Bill, which unified and consolidated the several separate and independent departments of State for the various grades of education. So far so good. Now comes the very delicate and thorny problem of overhauling the Local Authority phase of the question. Here you are face to face with vested interests and administrative jealousies and prejudices of a very pronounced character. And here the task of reform is one of the gravest difficulty.

Let us examine the existing facts. In the first place, dotted all over the country in existence for the last fifty or more years, are the groups of Managers of the Elementary "Voluntary" Schools. In all there are now no fewer than 14,359 of these bodies. Nominally they consist in each case of not less than three persons; actually they are composed as a rule of one working member only—the parson of the parish. These managing bodies are in no way responsible to the localities, though here or there the representatives of the parents of the children attending the school have been very wisely co-opted. The only responsibility is to the Central State Executive—the Board of Education—and this responsibility takes the form of observance of certain rules and regulations in return for the receipt of Government aid. Then, still dealing with Elementary Education—this time in the Board Schools—we find that since the Act of 1870 there have grown up public local authorities elected *ad hoc* for purposes of education. These are the School Boards. To-day these publicly elected bodies cover 55 of the 63 country boroughs (Preston, St. Helens, Bury, Chester, Wigan, Lincoln, Stockport, and Bournemouth have no School Boards, their Elementary Education being entirely confined to the Voluntary Schools); they cover about half the non-county and urban district municipalities; and they cover about half the rural areas of the country. In all to day you have 2544 School Boards.

So much for Elementary Education, Board and Voluntary. But this not all. Fourteen years ago the Conservative Government of the day placed before Parliament a Temperance measure. Part of the purpose of that measure was the extinction of certain Public House licences. By way of compensation for this prospective scheme the sum of about three quarters of a million was put into the Budget. This sum was voted, but the Temperance Bill afterwards broke down. What about the money? If it was not promptly diverted it would drift silently and mysteriously into that bottomless pit known as the Sinking Fund. Just then our ears were very full of the wonderful things the Germans were doing in the way of promoting Technical Education. So, Liberals joining with Tories, it was decided to send the money down to the localities nominally in relief of local Taxation but with a very plain hint that if it were to be continued year by year the best thing to do with it was to apply it to purposes of Technical

Education. Excellent! But to what local authority could it be sent? The School Boards were the only public local authorities for Education. But they only covered about two-thirds of the country, and where they did exist they were not always everything that could be desired. The Government, however, had just passed the Local Government Act of 1888. Why not therefore send it to the newly created County and County Borough Councils? This was done; and from that day forward these universally existent municipal bodies became more and more concerned in the work of Technical and modern Secondary Education.

But even now we have not got to the end of the tale of local bodies concerned in one or other of the grades of Public Education. In recent years some of the Endowed Grammar Schools have laid themselves out to teach Science and Art under government regulations and for government aid. To this extent they become Public institutions. But their Governors are in no way related to or associated with either of the local authorities I have already mentioned. Finally, there are the University Colleges. For the past ten years or so Exchequer grants have been made to most of these. To this extent again they are public institutions. But their Courts are quite independent of all other existing locality authorities. This, then, is the hotch-potch of local control of education with which we are confronted.

III. THE DEFECTS OF THE PRESENT LACK OF CO-ORDINATION

"The elementary schools of the country must be in direct and organic connection with the institutions for Higher Education."—[STATUTE OF THE CANTON ZURCH.]

THE first and most obvious defect of the present lack of system is the waste of public money in the extravagant duplication of administrative machinery. Let me give an example that could be paralleled in every locality urban and rural in the country. The London School Board has in its charge 6 Industrial Schools accommodating 1020 pupils. For the management of these 6 schools an Industrial School Committee of the Board, consisting

of 17 members, meets fortnightly at the Board Offices on the Victoria Embankment, and there is also at these Offices a pretty expensive establishment of clerks and so on devoted exclusively to Industrial School Work. At the same time the London County Council has under it 2 precisely similar Industrial Schools accommodating 420 children. And here, again, these have a Committee of 15 members meeting fortnightly, and a permanent establishment in the County Hall at Spring Gardens. Now, it is quite safe to say that either of these Committees and either of these sets of establishment charges could most admirably meet the needs of the whole of the 8 schools and their 1440 pupils. The saving wouldn't be a great sum in this particular case. But, as I have said, it could be multiplied to an indefinite extent up and down the country.

Then the present state of affairs leads to all sorts of friction—especially between the great School Boards and the Municipal Technical Education Committees—respecting disputed territories. The result is not only some amount of overlapping of educational effort but local irritations and jealousies respecting conflicting claims.

Finally, what I have styled the present hotch-potch of local government in education is responsible for another shortcoming, and a shortcoming which from the point of view of the working people is far more serious than all the rest put together. Each grade of school being under separate and independent management there is no community of purpose, no co-ordination of educational aim, and therefore no coupling up and linking together of the schools. To-day we talk glibly of an educational ladder up which the “lad of parts,” but of humble extraction may climb, if he has the capacity and the industry, until even he reaches the top-most rung. This educational ladder business is largely a delusion and a snare. For it to be real and complete your Elementary school must stand on the broad foundation. Rising from it and in direct and organic connection with it must come your Higher Elementary School and then as a further telescopic development should come your Technical and Secondary school, and so on. All the grades of school must be linked together, their curricula must be shapen so as to have regard the one to the other, and the whole scheme of organisation must have as its genius the necessity to provide free passage from one institution to the other. Obviously, these

desirable ends can never be secured, even in the most halting fashion, so long as each class of school is under an independent body of management.

IV.—THE “ONE AUTHORITY” SCHEME OF THE BILL.

“In our country, everything depends upon the educated intelligence of the people and of all the people. Thus, from the very earliest times the American people have shown the liveliest interest in the subject. The Pilgrim Fathers had hardly landed when they began to establish schools. . . . Throughout the United States it [education] has been the chief industry of the people, because its development and extension are absolutely necessary in the common judgment for the safety of our institutions; and if there has been anything good accomplished in America, I think you may attribute it to the devotion of its people to education and to the universal dissemination of a perfectly adequate common school system throughout the country.”—[MR. CHOATE, AMERICAN AMBASSADOR, BURNLEY, 22ND NOVEMBER, 1900.]

“THE Council of every county and of every county borough shall be the Local Education Authority.” That is, as I have said, the first of the two main principles of this Bill. It is the principle for which the government has steadily worked since 1895. It is the principle which substitutes control by the municipal authority for control by an authority elected *ad hoc*. The apology of the government is that it deliberately desires to bring the control of education into the general field of municipal concern, and that it desires to reduce the number of local authorities and elections. Whilst I sympathise with all this, I cannot but feel a little uneasy—especially when I remember the fact that the ruling family in the present government is somewhat superciliously indisposed to concede the need for anything like a generous education for the children of the people. For, undoubtedly, some of those who desire to “municipalise” the local control obviously hope that when education is given to a body which has a hundred other things to attend to it will be prosecuted with less vigour and assiduity than it has been whilst in the hands of bodies elected to look after nothing but Education. My own view is that these good souls will soon find that they have builded better than they knew.

In any case the idea that there is something anti-democratic in

the policy of handing over the local control of education to the Municipal Councils is not justified by the history of the past. When the Gladstone Cabinet of 1870 drafted the great Education Bill of that year it arranged that the Local Education Authority should consist of a number of persons *selected by the Town Councils in the urban areas and by the Vestries and Select Vestries in the rural*. That is the "municipalisation" idea to a nicety. The *ad hoc* policy was brought forward as an amendment by Sir Charles Dilke, and supported curiously enough by many of the leading Conservatives of the day. On the other hand it was hotly opposed by such men as Mr. Foster, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Muntz (Birmingham), Mr. George Dixon (Birmingham), and Shaw-Lefevre, and Dr. Lyon Playfair.

But, turning back to the present Bill we find that though the County Borough and County Councils are to be the Local Education Authorities, autonomy in respect of Elementary Education is conferred upon every non-county borough with a population of over 10,000 and upon every Urban District with a population of over 20,000. Why 20,000 people in the Urban District are to be denied that which is given to 10,001 in the non-County Municipal Borough I confess I cannot say. But in any case these small autonomous areas, taken as they will be out of the General County Scheme for Elementary Education, may find themselves rather neglected when the county comes to develop schemes for Secondary Education. I need not say that this small borough autonomy idea has no justification from the point of view of effective or even symmetrical and economical administration. It is indeed a re-echo of the Committee Stage of the Bill of 1896 which Bill was mainly wrecked by the resistance of the small boroughs against the idea that their affairs should be governed from a county centre perhaps forty or fifty miles away.

I ought to add at this point that it is a feature of the Bill that its Education Authority, about to be created, may, if it pleases, leave Elementary Education alone and confine itself to Higher Education. This permissive policy cut right across the heart of the Bill and renders it grotesque by destroying its unifying and its co-ordinating purposes. I do not myself believe that the adoptive clauses can stand. They were obviously a *ballon d'essai* sent up on behalf of some member or members of the Cabinet who were pusillanimous about compelling the Local Authorities to rate-

aid the present Denominational Schools. But as it is my profound belief that the Bill will either have to be made compulsory in its application to Elementary Education or be withdrawn all together, I do not stay to argue the case against allowing a selfish locality to contract itself out of its obligation towards Elementary Education.

V.—MUNICIPALISATION—SPURIOUS AND GENUINE.

“Much has been done during the past five years to improve our national system of education, and we hope that further efforts in the same direction will have a place among the cares of the New Parliament.”—[ELECTION ADDRESS OF SIR RICHARD C. JEBB AND SIR JOHN E. GORST, OCTOBER, 1900.]

THOUGH I have, as will be seen, no particular quarrel with the government in its “municipalisation” policy, so far as I am concerned if we enter upon that policy it must be applied in a genuine and not a spurious form. Now it is my complaint against the present Bill that the application of the municipalisation plan has been disastrously vitiated. In the first place the County and County Borough Council are to do nothing themselves except raise money by rate or on loan. They are at once to delegate all their educational powers to an *Education Committee*. The Committee must consist, as to a majority of its members, of persons selected by the County or County Borough Council. Thus, supposing the Bradford City Council resolve upon the Education Committee of thirty persons, the Council would at once name sixteen; when the sixteen got together they would select fourteen more; and thus the thirty. *But not one of these need necessarily be a member of the City Council.* Now this is not good business at all. In the municipalisation schemes of the Government Bills of 1896 and 1901 it was provided that the majority of the Education Committee in each case *must* be members of the present Council. And surely Liberal and Tory may agree each to assist the other in the task of bringing the government back to its wiser schemes of 1896 and 1901.

But this is not all. Not only is the Education Committee deliberately framed on the lines of one remove from the direct

touch of the rate-payer who finds the money; when we get to the actual management of the schools themselves we find ourselves another remove away from the influence of popular pressure. The Education Committee cannot of course *manage* any school. That must be left to the "local managers." And where do the public come in there? The Local Education Authority (County or County Borough Council) "shall have the right" through its Education Committee (nominees of the Education Authority and Co-opted persons) "of appointing such persons as they think fit to be additional managers, so that the number of the persons so appointed, if more than one, does not exceed one-third of the whole number of managers." Thus when we get down to the schools themselves we find ourselves a very long way from the rate-payer, and even then his several times removed proxy is in a permanent minority! Again this is not good business. Indeed, it seems suspiciously like a scheme to keep the hand of the man who finds the money as far from the control of the schools as possible.

Let me, however, be fair. The "local manager" must "carry out the Directions" of the paramount Education Committee "as to the secular instruction to be given in the school." The Education Committee further will have the power of inspection of the school and its accounts. Further, the Education Committee will have a veto over the appointment of any teacher (but that veto is only exercisable in respect of the teacher's secular qualifications). All this will no doubt keep the managers up to the mark. But what about a veto over the dismissal as well as the appointment of the teacher? What about compelling the managers to pay the teachers a living wage? What about insisting that they shall not, when appointing a teacher, secure also quite gratuitously the services of an Organist for the Parish Church, a Choirmaster, and a Sunday School Superintendent. To-day it is quite the usual thing to work in these duties when appointed to the Headship of a village school, and to ease the managerial conscience by offering a microscopic honorarium out of private Church funds for these multifarious extraneous tasks to the tune of say, from £5 to £10 a year, the real payment coming of course out of the public grants made to the school. The Bill is silent on all these and a hundred other important points. It will be urged doubtless that these are Committee details. Perhaps so. In any case I think we may look with confidence to the sense of fairplay on both sides of the

House to get these necessary improvements added. As I have all along said, given that the House is left a free hand to deal with the Bill, it can easily be made a much more educationally effective instrument than it is at the present moment.

VI.—THE PRESENT FINANCING OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BOARD AND VOLUNTARY.

“You cannot graft a scientific and artistic education upon the stunted stump of a defective elementary education.”—[DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE AT DERBY, 20TH JANUARY, 1899.]

I COME now to the second of the two great issues raised in this Bill. The one is the revolution which it is proposed to work in the local control of Education: the other is the revolution it is proposed to work in the method of financing Elementary Education as given in what are now known as the Voluntary Schools. Let me again rehearse the existing facts. At the present time there are $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions of working class children in attendance at the Elementary Schools of England and Wales. Roughly, three millions of these are attending the Voluntary Schools: $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions the Board Schools. The main differences in these two classes of schools are:—

- (1). In the form of the local management.
- (2). In the nature and amount of the local financial support accorded.
- (3). In the character of the religious instruction given.

With number one I have already dealt; with number three I will deal hereafter. Meanwhile, as to number two, which raises the question of the financing of the schools. The financial support accorded to both Board and Voluntary Schools is of two kinds—central and local. The central support consists of grants from the Exchequer paid upon the report of H.M. Inspectors of Schools; and, generally speaking, is receivable by the Voluntary schools on the same terms as by the Board schools. Additional, however, to the Government Grants hitherto payable under the Education Code to both Board and Voluntary schools alike, special Treasury Grants have been provided for under the Voluntary Schools Act of

1897, and the Necessitous School Boards Act of the same year. Under the Voluntary Schools Act, a Special Aid Grant, amounting in all to nearly £800,000, is payable yearly on the basis of 5s. 9d. per child in the Urban schools, and 3s. 3d. per child in the Rural schools, to most of the Voluntary schools, upon the recommendation of School "Associations." Under the Necessitous School Boards Act, a total sum of about £170,000 is annually dispensed to a comparatively small number of the School Boards where the rateable value of the locality is not high, and the percentage of the whole number of elementary school children to be provided for by the Board is large. But neither of these Acts raises any serious fundamental principle—except, of course, that they increase the proportion of the total education charge thrown upon the Central Exchequer—and, therefore, do not seriously affect the present position. Notwithstanding the recent legislation, therefore it is still practically true that grants to Board and Voluntary schools from the Central Exchequer are very largely made on the same basis, and come out at pretty much the same amount per child.

These Exchequer Grants are admittedly not enough upon which to conduct a school with anything like efficiency. It is an essential part of the existing system that they shall be supplemented by local aid. In the case of the Board schools, this essential supplementary income is provided from the rates, and in School Board districts this local contribution is compulsory upon all ratepayers. The Voluntary schools have no such compulsory local income to turn to, but must supplement their central aid from the offerings of benevolent and charitable persons. *The School Boards last year found it necessary to supplement their central aid by a sum equal to £1 5s. 6d. per child of the children in attendance in the schools. The conductors of the Voluntary schools were only able to secure a local supplement to their central aid in the form of a voluntary subscription equal to 6s. 5d. per child.* It is this serious difference in the local income of the schools which must in some way or other be removed before the problem can be considered to be finally settled. For be it remembered a majority of the working class children are in attendance at these starved Voluntary schools, and it is, from a national point of view, a dangerous anachronism to fob them off with an inferior education which is inferior because the disastrous endeavour is made to maintain it, so far as local aid is concerned,

out of the fluctuating hand of charity. I am not denying a meed of gratitude to the voluntary subscriber. He has done work which was all along a State obligation. But he has failed, and failed naturally enough to find the means whereby our Common schools can be kept up to the level of modern requirements and the standard set by our great Continental and American competitors.

Frankly I rejoice that the question of abrogating the voluntary contribution plan in respect of National Education has been raised. It is time we gave it up, and though I shall have some criticism of the way the Government proposes to deal with the question I heartily agree that it is high time the matter was seriously tackled.

VII.—SOME RESULTS OF THE VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTION PLAN.

“The man or woman who is content to leave our people intellectually inferior to those with whom they will have to contend in the peaceful arts, is no better a friend to this country than those who would leave us comparatively defenceless, and allow our rivals and opponents to have ships, guns, and materials of warfare far superior to our own.”—[SIR JOHN GORST, GUILDHALL, 8TH JULY, 1898.]

FOR let us look at some of the results of this attempt to run our national education on private charity. The first most disastrous result is the shocking way the average Voluntary School is staffed. At this point I may say that the Elementary Schools, Board and Voluntary, are manned by four classes of teachers. These are:—

(1). Adults who have gone through all the grades of training, and are classed as fully certificated.

(2). Teachers who have been apprenticed as pupil teachers, but have not completed the course for the teacher's certificate. These are styled ex-pupil teachers.

(3). Young women over eighteen years of age—technically known as “Article 68's”—who have no professional qualification whatever, except that, in the opinion of the Inspector, they are presentable young persons, and can give evidence that they have been successfully vaccinated.

(4). Juvenile apprentices to the art of teaching, known as pupil teachers.

Under any efficient system of education, neither the "Article 68" nor the pupil teacher would be looked upon as an efficient member of the school staff. But it is too common an experience to find the schools—especially Voluntary schools in town and country and rural Board Schools—staffed almost entirely with these inefficient supernumeraries. Now let me give a little table shewing the way the Board schools and the Voluntary schools are staffed winding up with the staffing arrangements for the London School Board—a standard which might well be striven after in the provinces, urban and rural.

ENGLAND AND WALES.	Percentage engaged of			
	Certificated Adult Teachers.	Of Ex-Pupil Teachers.	Of Article 68's.	Of Juvenile Pupil Teachers.
In all Voluntary Schools.	38	23	18	21
In all Board Schools. . . .	51	21	5	23
Under the London School Board.	81	4	0	15

This table is eloquent of the state of things in the Voluntary schools. But it is really worse than it looks. Because the case of the pupil teachers in the Voluntary schools is far worse than that of his youthful colleague in the Board school. The Voluntary school pupil teacher is usually turned on from the very first as a full-blown "journeyman" teacher. In the Board schools he is usually treated strictly as an apprentice, spending only the half of each day in actual teaching and being occupied with learning the technique of the teaching art during the other half. This state of things is not only grossly unjust for the Voluntary school child, whose intellectual training is thus left to the blundering hand of the apprentice, but it is also shamefully unjust to the apprentice himself. They work him so hard as a substitute for an adult teacher (at a wage that ranges from eighteen pence to ten

shillings a week) that at the end of his apprenticeship he fails the "Scholarship" test which is to admit him to a Training College so that he may ultimately become a Trained Certificated Teacher, and is either turned ignominiously out of the profession altogether or perpetually committed to its lowest and worst-paid ranks! (I am not necessarily blaming the school managers. It is only another direct result of the vicious Voluntary contribution policy.)

Here is another vivid contrast of the results of local rate-contribution (for the Board school) and local Voluntary contribution (for the Voluntary school) I exclude from my calculation all ex-pupil teachers. "Article 68's," and pupil teachers. Comparing the number of children enrolled to the number of certificated teachers in each class of school I get the following:—

Class of School.	Children enrolled.	Certificated Teachers employed.	Number of Children to each Certificated Teacher.
All Voluntary Schools.	3,043,006	29,294	103
All Board Schools. . . .	2,662,669	34,744	76

Now look for a moment at the expenditures last year on Teaching Staff (always necessarily by far the largest "maintenance" item) in the two classes of schools:—

Class of School.	Expenditure per Scholar on Teaching power.
In the Voluntary Schools. . . .	£1 15 2
In the Board Schools.	£2 5 2

Let me pursue the question of the teachers' salaries a little closer. I will now confine myself absolutely to the adult Certificated Teachers and examine the average amounts paid in each class of Voluntary school and in the Board schools last year:—

CLASS OF SCHOOL.	Certificated Masters.			Certificated Mistresses.		
	Head.		Class.	Head.		Class.
	Average Salaries	Number provided with House or Rent free.	Average Salaries.	Average Salaries.	Number provided with House or Rent free.	Average Salaries.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Church Schools. .	127 12 8	4,324	83 5 8	82 7 9	3,272	58 18 4
Vesleyan Schools.	182 11 4	47	89 18 9	94 8 4	3	62 13 7
Roman Catholic Schools.	128 8 4	24	86 11 7	75 5 5	266	58 5 2
British and other Schools. . .	152 19 11	222	98 8 8	88 2 6	133	65 1 2
Board Schools. .	170 10 9	1,511	109 6 6	121 19 11	464	83 19 8

A glance at this table will shew that the real sufferers from the "intolerable strain"—which we are assured falls upon the Voluntary School Managers—are the Voluntary School teachers. Remember the teachers referred to in the foregoing table *are all Certificated Teachers*. They have been to the same Colleges and passed the same Certificate Examinations. And yet if they happen to be the Head Masters of the Board Schools they get an average salary of £170 10s. 9d. as against an average of £127 12s. 8d. for exactly the same work and the same qualifications in the Church Schools.

The same work! In the one case the rooms will be large and airy, the classes fairly small, the apparatus plenteous and modern, and the assisting staff large and duly qualified. In the other the premises will be old and snuffy, the apparatus old ill-adapted and stinted, the classes large and unwieldy, and the assistant staff mainly ex-pupil teachers, juvenile pupil teachers, and Article 68's. The same work!

It has been made a gibe against the recent Conference of the National Union of Teachers that it gave something in the nature of qualified approval of the Government Bill. If you, gentle reader, were a Voluntary School teacher grinding hard against the collar at a shameful wage and with grotesquely inadequate aid; or if you

again were the more favoured Board School colleague watching the work of your Voluntary School associate with the eye of kindly sympathy; and if you saw the prospect of fair financial support for the starved Voluntary school from wholly public sources, why, what then?

My very great fear is that, as the Bill now stands, most of these hopes of fairer treatment for the Voluntary teacher are doomed to disappointment. The scheme of this Bill is to find the much needed wherewithal from the rates. Will the agriculturalists, for instance, gleefully pay them? And if they do, is there anything to compel the local managers to give the helot of the teaching profession, the average Voluntary School teacher, anything approaching a fair wage?

VIII.—THE FINANCING OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, BOARD AND VOLUNTARY, UNDER THE BILL.

“An uneducated democracy, a badly educated democracy, without the sense of proportion, constitutes a public danger. Education can at all events give our people some idea of the danger of ignorance, of the risk of yielding to sudden impulses, inspired frequently by generous motives. As wealth increases, as the Empire grows more powerful, greater vigilance is required, that virtues, which are threatened by too much prosperity, do not disappear. . . . Moral progress is more essential to a nation than material progress. Men and women who strengthen the moral fibre of a nation are more entitled to the credit of being empire-builders than those who annex new markets.”—[LORD REAY'S ADDRESS TO THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD, 5TH OCTOBER, 1899.]

The Bill frankly dispenses with Voluntary contributions so far as educational “maintenance” is concerned, and throws the Voluntary Schools (hereafter to be known as Denominational Schools), boldly upon the rates just as the Board Schools (hereafter to be known as Local Authority Schools or, better still, Public Municipal Schools) find their supplemental local income in that source at present. I have already assumed that the permissive character of this rate-maintenance for the Denominational schools will be struck out, and that it will be made compulsory upon the Local Education Authority to take over Elementary Education. If it is,

we may look for protests from many parts of the country, and particularly from these parts—quite, as I have shown, a third of the whole area—which have never laid a rate for Elementary Education before. But if the the application of this rate-maintenance be left to the localities themselves just where the co-ordination and public aid are most needed the Bill will become a dead letter.

Assuming then that Part III. of the Bill, the Elementary School sections, are made compulsory, let us see how we shall then stand. The present Voluntary contributions of 6s. 5d. a child, will all be needed to keep the fabric in good condition. This is the part which the Denominationalists have to pay for the right to quarter their schools upon the rates. Many people think they ought to pay a bigger price. I will only say that if the Municipal control can be made anything like real the managers of the Denominational schools will have a very heavy task before them in keeping the lighting, ventilation, warming, drainage, and general up-keep of their buildings up to the Municipal standard in these matters. Many of the buildings are woefully out of date, and Municipal inspection is likely to be much more exacting than the pleasing *laissez aller* in these matters of the gentlemen appointed by the Board of Education to be very cranky indeed sometimes over the condition of the 3 R's, the length of the Nile, and the height of Kiachinjinga. Indeed it would not surprise me to find very few Denominational schools still in the hands of their present managers in ten years time—if the Municipal control and inspection can be made real.

In any case existing Voluntary contributions will not be applied to "maintenance," so there will be nearly £1 per head of the Voluntary School children to rate up. Five shillings of this will come from the Preferential Special Aid Grant to the Denominational Schools which will be continued under the new *regime*. To bring the Voluntary Schools up to the Board School level then the rates will have to find something like 3 million times 15 shillings more than they do now. That means a new rating charge of 2¼ millions, just at a time when rates and taxes are already grievous to be borne. Will the country generally give it? In my opinion, certainly not. *What will happen will be this, that in most localities the present rate or a slightly increased rate will have to suffice for the needs not only of the Board School children*

but of the Voluntary School children as well. That is the real danger of the proposition. It cannot but mean additional aid in all districts where at present there is no School Board. The Voluntary Schools of Chester, Bury, Wigan, Lincoln, Bournemouth, St. Helens, Stockport, and Preston; of those 109 non-county boroughs and urban districts, that at present pay no rate; and of that, half of the rural area of England and Wales that similarly escapes; these schools of course *must* gain. Though here a good deal of the admiration for Denominational schools will promptly disappear when the people find that they are just as expensive as the Board Schools have been in the past.

But what will happen in, say, Hastings, where the School Board rate already amounts to £2 0s. 1d. per year for each Board School child; in Oxford where the amount of rate contribution is 37s. per child for the year; in Southampton where it is 34s. 5d.; in Halifax where it is 33s. 10d.; in Canterbury where it is 32s. 8d.; and in Croydon where it is 32s. 6d.? Of course you can put the Voluntary school on the rates to the same purpose at probably a smaller amount per child, because the administrative charges involved in the above will not need to be repeated in their entirety at any rate. But, making all due allowances, these rate capitation contributions will need to be nearly doubled wherever the Voluntary school children equal in number the Board School children. And the increase elsewhere will be larger or smaller according to the number of new supplicants for rate-aid there may be. From the Board School point of view the outlook is really serious. We must not have the Board School Peter robbed to pay the Denominational School Paul. Probably most of the present supporters of the Voluntary Schools would not wish this. But they will not be the masters of the situation. The obscurantist will put them on one side; and I am sorry to say he is still to be found in very distinguished and responsible positions in this country of ours.

It seems to me that by far the safest, and indeed the most just course, would have been to have gone boldly for the nationalisation of the Education charge as a national service. Why there should be a local rate in aid of a Berkshire School any more than there is for the Berkshire Regiment I have never been able to understand. Surely Education is as much an Imperial service as either the army or the navy. I am the more surprised that Mr. Balfour has

gone in for so largely increasing the rating charge for education because I observe that at the 1895 General Election he put upon, his Election Card the following:

“Poor Law and School Board Rates to be charged in the Imperial Exchequer.”

IX.—HIGHER EDUCATION UNDER THE BILL

“*Much has yet to be done, not by legislation alone, before the sons and daughters, both of the working class and of those who direct our trade and our industries, will have throughout the country those educational advantages which they need and which they deserve. Good education given on sound methods counts for much in the development of both intelligence and character, and the largest possible stock of vigorous intelligence and strong character will be required for the nation in future if this country is to maintain her position in the world.*”—[MR. ACLAND'S FAREWELL LETTER TO HIS CONSTITUENTS 12TH JULY, 1898.]

It is very curious to notice that although Secondary Education has been upon the lips of the present government ever since it was called together in 1895 this Bill which is, as I have shewn, a far-reaching and comprehensive measure, can as it stands, do but very little for this branch of the work. First of all the term used, “Higher Education,” is made by the Bill—which its authors will no doubt say was compelled in its turn by the Cockerton judgment—to include a large variety of matters. Indeed it includes everything that is not of the most elementary character and that is not intended for children under 15 years of age. It thus embraces all Technical Instruction, all Secondary Education modern and classical, all work done on behalf of the Training of Teachers, all instruction of Pupil Teachers, and, strangely enough, all Evening School work, elementary and advanced. For the prosecution of all these grades of the work the Local Authorities will still be offered the usual niggardly Exchequer grants—which ought, by the way, to be largely enhanced if we really mean business in the field of Higher Education. In addition they may rate themselves *up to 2d. in the pound*. (Remember they have already put the Denominational Elementary Schools newly upon the rates.) A rate of 2d. for these purposes is of course quite grotesque even if

levied. Indeed I must again protest against thrusting all these educational needs upon the rates at all. It will only mean that the work will be sterilised and obstructed. Rates right and left for Education will not be paid cheerfully until you have a proletariat much more keenly imbued with the value and importance of education as a factor in National Defence than confronts us today. By way I suppose of subtle joke it is provided that a locality may rate itself far more than 2d. in the pound for "Higher Education," if the Local Government Board graciously permits. This is sheer nonsense. Local Government regulations respecting all sorts of things from Sewage Farms to glycerinated lymph may be right enough. But if the ratepayers of Leeds for choice, like to levy a sixpenny rate for "Higher Education" upon themselves what has that to do with the Local Government Board?

X.—SOME MISCELLANEOUS POINTS.

"The only desire which every lover of education, every educated man and woman, can possibly have is that the utmost possible extension shall be given to our national system of education which in the last generation has made such great progress, and that we should not level down, but level up, and make the institutions of the country as perfect for the education of the people as it is possible to make them."—[SIR JOHN GORST AT THE MERCERS' HALL, 22ND NOVEMBER, 1895.]

Here are a number of miscellaneous points which, before I turn to my final topic, I may dispense with under this general heading. In the first place the Education Committee of the Local Authority is to have complete "control of all secular instruction in public Elementary Schools," and "the managers of the school shall carry out any directions of the Local Education Authority as to the secular instruction to be given in the school." Further, "the Local Education Authority shall have power to inspect the school," etc. I sincerely trust that all this does not mean the abrogation of the Whitehall Standard and of Whitehall Inspection. No doubt a great County Borough might safely be left to fix its own standard and to see that such standard is reached. But can this be safely left to the rural counties? For the last seventy years it has been one long struggle to bring them up to the level insisted upon by

the State Department responsible for education. All sorts of grumbling reasons have been given as to why the smallest modicum of education will suffice for the village child. The depopulation of the rural class, the decline in the price of the quarter of wheat and agricultural depression generally have been attributed to the very innocent and very unambitious village school; and from time to time we have such very good fellows as Major Rasch, M.P., sending Jeremiahs to the *Times* about the sinfulness of teaching the country child what he is pleased to style "Shakespeare and the musical glasses." This being the attitude of a good many of the leading lights of rural life I want to insist that, while the County Authorities shall be given full power to adapt the curriculum of its schools to the needs of the locality and the habits of the people, there shall be no falling below a certain fixed standard, and that standard I would fix as the Whitehall Education Code for 1901.

Another general point has reference to the fact that under the Bill no child may stay in an Elementary School after his fifteenth birthday. Of course the argument of the Government is that this is a part of the scheme of co-ordination. At fifteen, they may say, if a child wants further education he must be drafted to the next grade of school. But it is absurd to make a hard and fast rule like this. Suppose, for instance, the child has been neglected in early life, has been for a long period ill, or is of dull intellect; he may need purely elementary instruction even after his fifteenth birthday, and his parents may be willing to keep him at school so that he may get it. The Bill says "No!" It is no longer "Blessed be they that hunger and thirst after knowledge." To-day they are sent empty away. Again, suppose the child to have successfully passed through all the grades of Elementary School work at fifteen, and suppose that his parents are anxious to give him a year's training beyond this. If he is in an urban district it is very much to be hoped that in future his Elementary School will be so linked with a Secondary School that the way to that extra year's schooling will be conspicuously clear and easy. But will it be so in the village? I fear not. Now, in Scotland, it is the custom to organise where needed a "Secondary top" to a village Elementary School, and some of the finest Secondary Education in the world has been given in these schools. Surely the rule of the Bill should be so elastic as to allow of similar organisation failing the existence of an adjacent separate school for Secondary Education.

This reference to Scotland leads me to ask why the English and Welsh working people should be content with State facilities for education which, generally speaking, fall considerably below those provided for their fellow-countrymen in Scotland? In Scotland the pupil may stay in the Elementary Day School till eighteen; in England and Wales fifteen. In Scotland there is no limit of age for the Night School pupil requiring elementary instruction: in England and Wales no opportunity for such instruction is offered after fifteen. In Scotland Night School instruction may be "free" if the Local Authority wishes. In England and Wales, according to the Night School Code which will come into force on August 1st of this year, fees *must* be charged as a rule, though the Board of Education is prepared to entertain the invidious policy of remitting fees in certain cases.

Whilst dealing with this matter I may properly revert to another point in the Bill. It says that *all* Night School work shall be considered as *Secondary Education*. This of course implies a perfectly organised Day School system under which on coming to a Night School every youth in the land will be so grounded in the rudiments as at once to be able to take up Science, Art, Technology, Commercial work and so on. But this is very far from being the case unhappily; and however much we may deplore the fact, it is still necessary thirty years after Mr. Foster's Act to make provision for purely elementary instruction for neglected adults in the night schools. To say that this should be not necessary is the policy of the doeknaire run mad; and to style all night work as Secondary and to organise it accordingly, is to withhold the chance of a little schooling from very many deserving men and women whose early neglect is probably quite as much the fault of the State as of themselves.



XI.—THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION—THE EXISTING FACTS

“Of one thing only can we be certain—that it will be a period of keen, intelligent, almost fierce, international competition, more probably in the arts of peace even than in the arts of war. How, then, should we prepare for such an epoch and such a conflict? . . . We have to make sure of our equipment. . . . Mentally and physically our people must be worthy of their destiny.”—[LORD ROSEBERRY’S RECTORIAL ADDRESS, GLASGOW UNIVERSITY, 16TH NOVEMBER, 1900.]

I leave to the last what I would fain not enter upon at all, a discussion of the Religious Question. Because, after five-and-twenty years of the closest study of our Educational system, I am pretty sure that nothing I or anybody else can say will soften the acrimony of the conflict in which we are once more plunged, or tend to the calling of a “Truce of God” upon this unhappy problem so that we may push on with this vital question of the training of our people. The present Education Bill has been before the country but a few weeks and already there is little heard but the clamour of conflicting sects. So it was in 1870. Religion was mentioned many more times than Education during the memorable discussions that year; and so, apparently, it will be during the present year of grace.

The Bill of 1870 originally left the form of religious instruction in the new rate-aided schools to be determined by the localities themselves. This scheme was the subject of sharp criticism on the occasion of the second reading when Mr. George Dixon moved a declaratory amendment to the effect that no Bill could be considered which did not settle by statute the form of the religious instruction in the Board schools that were to be.

On going into Committee the religious question was again the subject of long and heated debate, this time the proposition being advanced that no further State grant should be made to Denominational Schools: that the State should confine itself rigidly to Secular Education, and that religious instruction should be left to the volunteer efforts of the religious bodies themselves. This policy, I may add in passing, was very badly beaten. In the end, and after all sorts of proposals had been put forward and rejected, a compromise was arrived at. It provided that the religious instruction in the rate-aided schools should be strictly undenominational not

involving any formulary distinctive of any particular denomination. This stands as part of the famous Clause 14 of the Act of 1870, and is known as the "Cowper-Temple" Clause. Clause 7 of the Act, known as the "Conscience Clause," has ever since hung conspicuously on the walls of every State-aided Elementary School, Board or Voluntary. It announces to all whom it may concern that any parent may withdraw his child from the religious instruction of the school if he so wishes; and such withdrawal shall be made without any forfeit on the part of the scholar "of the other benefits of the school." It is a striking commentary upon either the indifference of the parents as to the precise form of religious instruction to be imparted to their children or the satisfactory nature of the settlement of 1870, that the "Conscience-Clause" has proved practically a dead-letter. Both in the Denominational and the Board Schools withdrawals have been almost entirely unknown, a fact which has been contributed to very largely by the tact and discretion of the school teachers who have always softened down dogma not only to the tender capacities of the children but to the not less tender susceptibilities of those amongst the parents who have been compelled by law to use a school with the religious character of which they have been in disagreement.

This then is how religious instruction has been and is given to-day under the Act of 1870. In the Board Schools it is strictly Biblical. The whole school assembles at 9 in the morning, and under the direction of the head-teacher a hymn is sung and the Lord's Prayer is recited. Often a short general exhortation of the pupils by the head-teacher follows. Then the classes are marched away to their respective rooms and the Scripture Lesson follows. It is conducted by the class teacher and consists of a lesson on some of the historical parts of the Holy Word together with the committal to memory by the pupils of carefully selected portions of the Psalms, the Proverbs, the Gospels and so on. The syllabus of Scripture teaching is usually a fine tribute to its compilers and the lessons are almost invariably models of reverence and devotion. Can anything be more reassuring to the country than this picture of the whole of the children gathered together day by day for this admirable family-worship? Inspired by a simple sense of justice the highest dignitaries of the Church of England from Her Archbishops downwards have felt constrained to chide those amongst her flocks who, through ignorance or fanaticism have raved about

“Godless Board Schools,” and “that shifting, shapeless monster Undenominationalism!” This common religious teaching, founded on the Cowper-Temple Compromise is, of course, given subject to the “Conscience Clause” which I have already described.

In the average Church of England School the religious instruction is pretty much the religious instruction of the Board Schools *and very little more*—whatever may be the protestations of parish clergy at Church meetings. Of course in all cases The Apostles’ Creed is added and there is a lesson or so per week in the Church Catechism. But unless the clergyman be very “High” and very active, Church teaching wears down in practice to something very little beyond the undenominationalism of the Board Schools. In many of the villages this is frankly admitted and both Churchmen and Nonconformists agree that the thing shall be softened down to an acceptably common denominationalism. Why? Because then there will be no demand on the part of the Nonconformists for an undenominational school. If the religious instruction was aggressively Church of England the Nonconformists would promptly inflict a rate upon the locality. And neither Churchmen nor Nonconformists want this. Thus in practice a new compromise has grown up; the compromise whereby dissenting religionists may so compose their differences as to avoid the nuisance of a local rate for education.

Of course in the schools belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, and, as I have said, in those associated with “High” Anglican Churches, the religious instruction is much more definitely and specifically Denominational. But here again the instruction is given subject to the protection of the “Conscience Clause.”

What have been the objections to this system during its thirty-two years existence? In the first place it is complained that the undenominationalism—rate and state aided as it is—of the Board School is, in effect, the denominationalism of Nonconformacy. Thus it is that Nonconformacy gets all it wants without voluntary contribution. The Church of England, on the other hand, is represented as having to provide its denominationalism out of its own pocket after having, in School Board districts, paid its rates to the Board School. I need not say that the Nonconformists resent this way of putting the case. They view the Board School as the Common School providing a common basis of religious teaching;

and urge that those who want more must expect to make a special payment over and above their contribution to the rates and taxes which help to maintain the Common School. On the other hand not only do Church people claim rate-aid for the denominationalism at present taught in their Church Voluntary Schools; but they also go on to point out that many children of Church parents are in attendance at the undenominational Board Schools, and that therefore it is a fair thing to ask that "facilities" should be given for the instruction of the Church children attending the Board Schools "in the particular faith of their parents." To those who work in the school day by day all this is very amusing, though no doubt it is inspired by motives which are entirely creditable, sincere and honest. As a matter of fact nearly nine per cent. of the English working people want their children taught the Bible. But as to what particular denominational colour should be put upon the religious teaching they have no feeling whatever. I may at once be asked why then do a majority of the children attend the Voluntary Schools seeing that these are denominational. In the first place I must reply that very many of them have no option: the Voluntary School is the only one open to them. In a third of the country there are no Board Schools at all, and in the other two-thirds many of the localities are only served by Voluntary Schools. Again, many parents send their children to the Voluntary Schools because they went there themselves, and because they know and respect the teachers. And, finally, an earlier comment of mine gives after]all the most conclusive answer—and that is the fact that in most of the so-called Denominational Schools there is very little indeed that is of a strictly denominational character. Quite certain am I that not five per cent. of the parents who use the Church School do so because of the opportunity it affords for Church religious instruction.

XII.—THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION—THE PROPOSALS OF THE BILL.

“There was no subject that appealed more strongly to an American than that of education. When it was once determined that their institutions were to rest for their success upon the intelligence of all the people, maintained by universal suffrage—for every man one vote and for no man more than one vote—it became an absolute necessity that the people in all parts of the country, in all callings of life, should have an education adequate to enable them both to perform their public duties as citizens and to discharge their private business in life.—[MR. CHOATE, AMERICAN AMBASSADOR, CITY OF LONDON COLLEGE, 10TH DECEMBER, 1900.

How then does the government propose to deal with this terribly thorny problem in its present Bill? It proposes to leave the religious instruction absolutely as it is, both in Board Schools and in the Denominational Schools, perpetuating the Cowper-Temple Clause for the former and the Conscience Clause for both. We thus have at once raised the proposal to throw Denominational education entirely upon the rates and taxes, leaving only to the denominationalists the task as I have already said of keeping the fabric in good repair. This determination to rate-aid the Denominational Schools has immediately created no end of a pother. Strangely so, because for the last seventy years these schools have been increasingly maintained out of the public purse. Indeed at the present time over 1000 of them are maintained exclusively out of exchequer grants and thousands more merely supplement those grants by a few pence per child per year by way of voluntary contributions. But, of course, Exchequer grants come from a long way off and people do not quite see that they help to raise those grants by every luxury—almost every necessity of life—in which they indulge from day to day. Hezekiah Smallbury the deacon of the village chapel has been a contributor to the only school in the village, the Church School, all these years in his capacity as a tax-payer—though, let it be said, he has always stoutly refused to give a voluntary contribution, even when threatened with the alternative of a School Board rate. And not quite realising the extent to which he has been debited as a tax-payer for the upkeep of this much reprobated Church School, Hezekiah has not said very much about the matter. But now call him to the front door

to present him with a Demand Note for say ten or fifteen shillings out of his very pocket by way of a rate in aid of the Church School, and what then? Why then Hezekiah goes as a delegate to the St James's Hall, and hopes the spirit of Oliver Cromwell is only slumbering in this country and so on.

But the Government has really endeavoured in its way to meet Hezekiah. It says in its Bill that if the parents of 30 children do not like the form of religious instruction given in the school or schools available to them, they can go to the Local Authorities Education Committee and ask that a school may be built for them. If such a school be built for the nonconforming 30 it will be a Local Authority School, and the religious instruction will be undenominational. I say "*if* such a school be built" advisedly. For this 30-children-separate-school absurdity is hedged round in a way that, whilst reducing its absurdity, also detracts from its genuineness as an honest offer. Here are the clauses which deal with the building of such a new school:—

"9. Where the local education authority or any other persons propose to provide a new public elementary school, they shall give public notice of their intention to do so, and the managers of any existing school, and the local education authority (where they are not themselves the persons proposing to provide the school), and any ten ratepayers in the area for which it is proposed to provide the school, may, within three months after the notice is given, appeal to the Board of Education on the ground that the proposed school is not required, or that a school provided by the local education authority, or not so provided as the case may be, is better suited to meet the wants of the district than the school proposed to be provided, and any school built in contravention of the decision of the Board of Education on such appeal shall be treated as unnecessary."

"10. The Board of Education shall determine in case of dispute whether a school is necessary or not, and in so determining, and also in deciding on any appeal as to the provision of a new school, shall have regard to the interest of secular instruction, to the wishes of parents as to the education of their children, and to the economy of the rates, but a school actually in existence shall not be considered unnecessary in which the number of scholars in average attendance as computed by the Board of Education is not less than thirty."

How many attempts to build new schools will successfully run the gauntlet of these clauses I should like to know? Financially and educationally I am glad that they will be few, because I do not want money wasted on a lot of microscopic little schools that will not only be financially most extravagant but from their minute proportions will be impossible of effective educational organisation.

This then briefly is the government scheme for dealing with the religious question. It is indeed a clumsy device. It does not meet the demand of the Church of England for "Church teaching for Church children in the Bible Schools," and its proposals for meeting the grievance of the village noneonformist is so patently insincere that it will only exacerbate those whom it was intended to deceive. Surely something fairer, something more practicable, could have been devised as "a way out" of this woful *impasse*!

Let one suggest a better compromise. If there really *are* any parents of children attending the Board Schools who object to the Bible teaching (I have worked in and about the Board School as pupil, pupil-teacher, assistant-teacher, head-teacher and School Board Member for the last thirty years and never met such a case) let us give them facilities for having their children instructed by the representatives of their own denomination in Church, Chapel, Mission Hall, etc., for as many mornings a week as they please during the time that the general body of the scholars will be receiving of the ordinary religious instruction of the school. Let the school open for secular subjects at say ten, and let those children then come in "without forfeiting the other benefits of the school." The government proposal of 1896 in clause 27 of its Bill of that year proposed that the denominational volunteers *should come into the Board Schools* day by day for the purpose of taking aside the children of their Church during the religious hour. Whilst I am very strongly opposed to this I see no reason why "outside facilities" should not be offered. In six months I believe practically all the children would be back again at the common family lesson of the school and a very irrepressible bogey would have been laid for all time. As to the Denominational schools, these are as I have shown much more nearly Undenominational than their conductors would probably be willing to admit. My suggestion is that they should be made frankly Undenominational on, say, Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday and that on Wednesday

specific denominational teaching should be the order of the day, subject always of course to the conscience clause.

There is another possible compromise. And that is that Church and Nonconformacy should agree on a common form of religious lesson to be strictly Biblical plus the Apostles' Creed and, say, the "duties" of the Church Catechism. A compromise of this sort ought to be agreeable to the great body of the Christian community and being subject to the Conscience Clause would present no particular hardship to the conscientious objector. In Scotland a compromise of this sort involving a Bible-teaching syllabus, plus the Shorter Catechism, has been in force for many years. But the Scotch are too shrewd to allow fine distinctions of faith to rob their children of that first-class business asset—a good education—notwithstanding their proverbial *penchant* for theological disquisition.

XIII.—HOW THE BILL MIGHT BE IMPROVED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE SCHOOLS, THE CHILDREN, AND THE TEACHERS.

"Make your educational law strict, and your criminal ones may be gentle; but leave youth its liberty and you will have to dig dungeons for age. And it is good for a man that he 'wear the yoke in his youth'; for the reins may then be of silken thread and with sweet chime of silver bells at the bridle; but for the captivity of age you must forge the iron fetters and cast the passing bell."—[RUSKIN, *Munera Pulveris.*]

After the manner of the school teacher let me recapitulate the modifications I would make in the Bill.

1. The Education Committee should be composed as to a majority of its members, of members of the Municipal Council.
2. It should transact all its ordinary business in public, and report its proceedings from time to time to the Local Education Authority.
3. It should have a veto over the dismissal as well as the appointment of the teacher: should veto compulsory extraneous tasks being thrust upon the teacher by the managers: and should institute scales of salaries to be paid in all publicly-aided schools.

4. In the County Boroughs option should be given to the locality to continue its directly elected School Board—reinstated in the position *ante*-Cockerton—as the authority for all Elementary Education, a Joint Committee of the School Board and the Municipal Council being the authority for Higher Education. (This admittedly cuts across the symmetry of the “one-authority” scheme of the Bill; but it is probably as far as we can go in respect of these great centres in one Session of Parliament.)

5. There should be no limit of Rate for Higher Education and no veto by the Local Government Board. Both for Elementary and Higher Education Exchequer grants should be much more generously made than at present. There should be a fixed proportion of the one to the other, the local rate being called on to bear not more than a fourth of the entire cost of Public Education.

6. The proposal to confer autonomy on the smaller urban areas should be withdrawn.

7. There should be a “Conscience Clause” in all institutions of any kind aided by public funds whether central or local.

8. Admission to all publicly-aided Training Colleges for teachers should be determined by educational merit, and preference should not be given to the members of any particular denomination.

9. The number of Local Managers should never be less than five in any particular group.

10. The principles of the Necessitous School Boards’ Act of 1897 should apply in respect of all expenditures by Local Authorities on account of their Elementary Schools. (This involves a highly technical point; but I may shortly say that its application would in many cases materially relieve the local ratepayers by increasing the proportion of Exchequer grant receivable.)

11. Whilst allowing the Local Authority free power to adopt the curricula of the Elementary Schools to the needs of the locality and the habits of the parents, the standard should never be permitted to fall below a statutorily prescribed standard, say that of the Whitehall Code for 1901, and this standard should be periodically reviewed by Parliament.

12. The question of the provision of new schools should be decided as in the past by the test as to whether or not the locality can show a deficiency of school places for the number of children of the Elementary School age and class scheduled.

13. The prescription that children of fifteen years of age and

over shall not remain in Elementary Schools should be struck out: so also should the definition that all Night School work shall be considered to be Higher Education according to the definition of the Act.

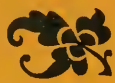
14. Religious instruction in the Local Authority Schools should be undenominational and under the "Conscience Clause"; but facilities should be offered to any parents desirous of securing some other form of religious instruction; these facilities should enable the child to absent itself from school—for the purpose of receiving religious instruction elsewhere—until the commencement of the secular teaching.

15. Religious instruction in the present Denominational Schools should be undenominational on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday in each week. On Wednesday in each week the instruction should be denominational for the children of such parents as have preferred a request that it shall be so, the whole to be here or elsewhere subject to the "Conscience Clause."

These fifteen emendations would, in my opinion, vastly improve the Bill as an educational instrument and would certainly facilitate its passing through the Houses of Parliament.

(FOUNDED 1555).

GRESHAM'S



SCHOOL,

Holt, Norfolk.

HEADMASTER:

G. W. S. HOWSON, M.A.

(Late of Uppingham School).

Three miles from the sea and close to Sheringham and Cromer. The soil is gravel on chalk. Entirely new drainage.

GOVERNORS:

**THE FISHMONGERS' COMPANY AND COUNTY
AND LOCAL REPRESENTATIVES.**

Class Rooms, Laboratories, and Workshops are in course of erection at an estimated expenditure of £40,000.

Highest inclusive fees, £57 per annum.

Science and modern languages taught throughout the school.

Yearly leaving Exhibitions of £60 per annum for three years.

Army and Navy Classes.

For further particulars address the Headmaster.

EYESTRAIN.



AITCHISON'S

SPECTACLES

RELIEVE TIRED EYES.

The SUN, April 21st, 1898, in an article on Defective Eyesight, says: Mr. AITCHISON'S system of sight testing is undoubtedly the most perfect in existence."

Mr. AITCHISON-adapts Spectacles and Eyeglasses in the most scientific manner to correct nearly all defects of vision. Prices strictly moderate.

"HINTS ON EYESIGHT," a pamphlet, post free.

**YOU CANNOT AFFORD
TO NEGLECT YOUR EYESIGHT,**

Even if the defect of vision is only trifling it should be corrected. The eyesight can be preserved, and in most cases prevented from getting worse. Mr. Aitchison's system of Sight Testing is the most perfect in existence, the eyes being examined carefully in every instance, and the amount of the defect accurately measured.

Spectacles, Eyeglasses, and Artificial Eyes

AT MOST MODERATE PRICES.

AITCHISON & CO., OPTICIANS
to H.M. Government

46, FENCHURCH ST.;

14, NEWGATE ST.;

6, POULTRY;

428, STRAND;

47, FLEET ST.,

4288.

4857

LONDON.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY
Los Angeles

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

JAN 20 1951

APR 27 1955

JUN 6 1960

REC'D UCL LIB.

SEP 1 1968

REC'D UCL LIB.

SEP 20 1968

SEP 30 1968

Form L9—15m-10,'48 (B1039) 444

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT
LOS ANGELES
LIBRARY

LB Macnamara -
2581 The education
1902 bill.
M23e

JAN 9 1971

LB
2581
1902
M23e

UCLA-Young Research Library
LB2581 1902 .M23e
yr



L 009 560 028 4

